REPORT ▫ 21

REDRAWING WINNIPEG'S MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES 1991: AN INNER CITY FOCUS

Herb Koehl

INSTITUTE of URBAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY of WINNIPEG

INSTITUTE of URBAN STUDIES

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The Institute of Urban Studies is funded by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the University of Winnipeg.

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1991

PUBLICATION DATA

Koehl, Herb
Redrawing Winnipeg's Municipal Boundaries 1991: An Inner City Focus

(Report; 21)

ISBN: 0-920213-73-1

I. University of Winnipeg. Institute of Urban Studies II. Title. III. Series: Reports (University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies); 21.

This publication was funded by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, but the views expressed are the personal views of the author(s) and the Corporation accepts no responsibility for them.

Published by:

Institute of Urban Studies
University of Winnipeg
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 2E9

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ISBN: 0-920213-73-1

103-07231/

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the support and advice received from Brijesh Mathur during the preparation of this report. The ward boundary maps were created using a digital base map of neighbourhood areas prepared by David Linton. I also gratefully acknowledge Janice Freeman's superb editing.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Institute of Urban Studies' desire to contribute to the ward boundary selection process currently under way in Winnipeg led to the preparation of this report. The purpose of this report is to describe the process of determining new municipal ward boundaries required by a reduced Winnipeg City Council. After briefly reviewing the political and legislative process which brought about the change in City Council size, the report discusses the restrictions placed upon the ward boundary selection process. The central section of the report first examines the importance of a clearly defined starting point, and introduces the premise that Winnipeg's Inner City is the most appropriate starting point for a redrawing of the City ward boundaries. It then concludes with a definition of the Inner City and its representation requirements on a restructured Council. The final two sections describe the ward boundary selection process which resulted in the ward boundary proposal contained herein, and examines the sample boundary proposal included within the Ross Committee report. The report concludes by reiterating the importance of a clearly defined starting point in a ward boundary selection process. Maps displaying the process at various stages, including a final ward boundary proposal, are included in Appendix A. Appendix B contains the population figures for the Neighbourhood Areas and other supporting data.

Data from the 1986 Census, the *City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Characterisation Atlas*, and the "City of Winnipeg Population Estimates by Neighbourhood" was utilised when determining whether a specific area belonged to a community of interests. Areas were considered to constitute a community of interests if their socio-economic characteristics were similar. Characteristics such as income, language, education and age of dwellings were examined.

2.0 HISTORICAL REVIEW

In the late 1980s, provincial politicians in Manitoba started talking about revising the size and structure of the Winnipeg City Council. When the Progressive Conservatives under Gary Filmon won a majority government in 1990, a formal process of review was started.

The Winnipeg Wards Review Committee (1991) was appointed on February 6, 1991. The committee, chaired by Eldon Ross, was charged with the specific mandate to recommend a City Council size of between 12 and 15 Councillors, a considerable reduction of the then 29 member Council. The Ross Committee was also asked to recommend the shape and size of the wards of the reduced City Council. Moreover, they were to determine whether to use large multi-member or single member pie-shaped wards, or single member wards similar to the existing system. The Institute of Urban Studies, along with other agencies and individuals, submitted briefs to the Ross Committee.

Some of the many recommendations of the Ross committee were that 15 single member wards be created, and that the pie-shaped ward configuration not be used to restructure the City wards. Included in legislation enacted by the Province of Manitoba, contained in Bill 68, were provisions for reducing Winnipeg City Council from 29 to 15 members and the number of Community Committees from 6 to 5. The legislation did not amend any other sections of the *City of Winnipeg Act* pertaining to the ward boundary selection process. Bill 68 was given Royal Assent on July 26, 1991.

The Winnipeg Wards Boundary Commission, appointed pursuant to Sections 5 and 6 of the *City of Winnipeg Act*, is to establish revised electoral boundaries in accordance with the requirements of the *City of Winnipeg Act*. This Commission is now in the process of preparing its initial report and is tentatively scheduled to hold public hearings in October and November 1991. The final report is expected by December 1991.

3.0 A RESTRICTED PROCESS

The final location of electoral boundaries is dependent upon the initial conditions, assumptions, and limitations placed upon the ward boundary selection process. The very first step taken could determine the final outcome when restrictive conditions limit the available choices. The principal restrictions in the case of Winnipeg are examined below.

3.1 THE LEGISLATION

Any proposal for ward boundaries in the City of Winnipeg will be affected primarily by the conditions set out in the *City of Winnipeg Act*. The *Act* defines the number of wards and the maximum and minimum number of residents in each ward. The *Act* requires that the population figures come from the latest census taken under *The Statistics Act* (Canada), that the population in wards be as equal as is practicable, and that community or diversity of interests should be considered when determining the placement of ward boundaries.

These, then, are the initial conditions that any proposal must satisfy. As amended by Bill 68, The *Act* requires that 15 wards be created. Each ward must have a resident population of no less then 35,674, and no more then 43,600. These population figures are based on the Statistics Canada 1986 Census.

3.2 NATURAL BOUNDARIES

3.2.1 Geographical Boundaries

When attempting to divide an area into equal parts one can use a top-down method of splitting the area, following some well-defined mathematical process, until the number of required divisions is reached. The resulting grid pattern would split the area into equal geographic units, but as cities do not generally develop in well-mannered grids containing equal population or communities sharing common interests, it is not likely that any of the other requirements of the boundary selection process will be satisfied. Nor would such a method ensure that natural boundaries are respected.

The physical layout of the City as determined by geography and historical development provides the beginnings of a more appropriate method. The City, with its rivers, rail yards and industrial areas, is naturally split into smaller sections. Thus, the physical features of the City provide natural boundaries.

These geographical features are readily understood and accepted boundaries that are hard to ignore. Although the 1986 Review Committee came to the conclusion that "the rivers do not now represent or should they dictate political divisions" (p. 41), it, and subsequent committees and commissions, always used the Red River and the Assiniboine River as ward boundaries while ignoring them when designating boundaries for Community Committees. There is no specific requirement in the *City of Winnipeg Act* that these natural boundaries be respected, but it is only logical to do so. Respecting these boundaries would represent a restriction to the ward boundary placement process.

3.2.2 Social and Statistical Boundaries

The most problematic of the conditions in the *Act* is determining what constitutes a community of interests. The Winnipeg Wards Boundaries Commission (1988), the City of Winnipeg Act Review Committee (1986) and the Winnipeg Wards Review Committee (1991) all utilized the neighbourhood areas detailed in the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study in preparing their ward boundary proposals. That study, produced by the City's planning department, splits the City into 228 neighbourhoods each of which is a small homogeneous area, in other words, a community of interests on a small scale. The resident population in these neighbourhoods ranges from zero in industrial and institutional areas to over 14,400 in Rossmere A, a residential area in north-east Winnipeg. These areas joined to similar neighbouring areas would form a community of interests on a larger scale, as required by the *Act*.

The use of these Neighbourhood Areas (NAs) simplifies the process of setting ward boundaries in the City of Winnipeg. There is a good deal of information available about these neighbourhoods, which can be used to decide whether a specific neighbourhood should be included in a particular ward.

There is a not so subtle problem attached to using these NAs. Some have very large populations. When adding a large NA to a group of previously chosen NAs, it is very easy to exceed the population limits set out in the Act. These population limits severely reduce the list of NAs that can be included in a ward, but, as the 1991 Review Committee clearly states, "It is difficult to imagine any circumstance under which neighbourhoods should be divided for the purpose of establishing electoral boundaries" (p. 21).

In fact, the 1988 Commission was forced to split many of these NAs in order to create the 29 wards required at that time. The smaller size of the wards (a minimum of 18,450 and a maximum of 22,550 residents) would not allow the commission the luxury of using whole NAs, leaving no choice but to split these smaller communities of interests.

Restricting the wards to groupings of NAs makes the initial choices extremely important as the dwindling supply of Nas is drastically reduced to only those that will fit into the population limits. Contiguousness and population become the determining factors, not community of interests on a larger scale.

3.3 EXISTING BOUNDARIES

The existing ward boundaries can be said to be defining large-scale communities of interests, having been created as such by the 1988 Winnipeg Wards Boundaries Commission. These boundaries, in place since the 1989 municipal election, would be familiar to most residents. Residents would be less affected by the change to a 15 ward Council if as many as possible of the existing boundaries were to be retained. Joining together existing wards with an identifiable community of interests would accomplish both limited boundary changes and fulfil the requirements for wards to be comprised of a community of interests.

4.0 CHOOSING A STARTING POINT

4.1 THE QUESTION

During the preparation of this ward boundary proposal, the author recognized that the starting point, the first few wards created, would determine the final layout of all the wards. The use of natural boundaries, undivided Nas, and the legislated population limits all combine to restrict the number of alternative configurations. These restrictions lead directly to the question, "What is the best starting point?"

The premise of this report is that the Inner City is the most appropriate starting point. One of the conclusions in Mathur (1991) was that "Pie-shaped wards will *not* foster a City-wide view in Council. Rather, they will engender a suburban development bias, inner-city neglect and the marginalization of the

voices of communities of interest with respect to their needs for shelter and services" (p. 16). Mathur clearly recognises the need for an undivided and strong Inner City. Greater Winnipeg's commitment to a revitalised Inner City is evident in special programs such as the Core Area Initiative and planning documents such as "Plan Winnipeg Review: An Opportunity for the Future" (1991).

The report of the 1991 Winnipeg Wards Review Committee seems to concur. Part of the 1991 Review Committee's mandate was to recommend whether pie-shaped ward configurations be used. The major reason given by the Committee for recommending against the pie-shaped concept was that it was unacceptable to the people of Winnipeg because it would weaken the Inner City. The 1991 Review Committee felt that a strong Inner City was needed and this was clearly important to "all delegations, wherever the hearing was being held" (p. 28). The 1991 Review Committee believes that "without equitable representation, mathematics would dictate that the concerns of a fragmented Inner City would succumb inexorably to the needs of the larger suburban areas" (p. 28).

Recommendation 5.3 of the Ross report, is a clear indication of how important an undivided Inner City was to the committee: "THAT the integrity of Winnipeg's neighbourhood and cultural features be respected and the specific needs and character of the Inner City area be recognised in redrawing the City's electoral boundaries"(28).

4.2 THE INNER CITY

For the purposes of this report the Inner City is defined as that area determined by the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg and other agencies in the City of Winnipeg and includes all the Neighbourhood Areas listed in Appendix B. The Inner City has a population that is approximately 19 percent of the total population of the City of Winnipeg. At present, six of the 29 wards have a majority of residents living in Inner City areas. These six wards represent 21 percent of the existing wards. To maintain the *status quo*, it is imperative to ensure that a minimum of three wards on the new Council have a majority of Inner City residents.

It is important to note that a simple majority of Inner City residents would be insufficient to ensure equitable representation. Voting patterns from the 1989 election clearly show that voter turn-out was 20 percent lower in Inner City wards than in non-Inner City wards (Appendix B). Thus, a minimum requirement of a two-thirds majority of Inner City residents was used to determine whether a ward was to be considered an Inner City ward.

5.0 WARD BOUNDARY ALTERNATIVE

The ward boundary selection process detailed in the following section was constrained by both the legal requirements of the *City of Winnipeg Act* and this study's self-imposed limits. The Act requires that 15 wards be created and that the population of each ward must not vary more than ten percent above or below the median value of 39,637. Section 6(3) and 6(4) of the *Act* require the Winnipeg Wards Boundaries Commission to consider "the community or diversity of interests of the population" when fixing the boundaries. This study chooses to respect natural boundaries where possible. By using whole Neighbourhood Areas (NAs), the study reduces the number of possible alternatives, but retains the community of interests these NAs represent. Joining together pairs of existing wards achieves the same purpose, but on a larger scale. The author's decision that the Inner City be preserved provided a starting point, and determined the final shape of the alternative described below.

5.1 NATURAL BOUNDARIES

The City of Winnipeg is split into four sections by the two major rivers and the rail yard and industrial areas north and east of St. Boniface. These four quadrants, shown on Map 1,* are labelled NW, NE, SW, SE. The NW quadrant has a population that can easily be divided into six wards. Three of these wards could be designated as Inner City wards. In the NE, three wards can be formed from the resident population. The SE and SW quadrants' populations cannot be evenly divided into wards with populations within the required limits. This problem requires that a natural boundary must be crossed at some point in order to create wards of the correct size. The Ross Committee report included a 15 ward proposal which showed a ward encompassing the southern tip of the City. This ward, numbered 1 on their map, is a combination of the old wards of University and Seine Valley. This study supports the idea that this location is the most logical place to cross a natural boundary. The communities on either sides of the river are the most alike of all the possible choices. The exact boundaries of this ward will be decided as part of the overall selection process.

5.2 THE INNER CITY

Major natural boundaries which cross the area defined as the Inner City were a consideration when attempting to create three wards to represent the Inner City. The Inner City is mostly north of the Assiniboine River and east of the Red River. These two natural boundaries separate two sections of the Inner City from the downtown core area. The area east of the Red River is part of the francophone

*For Maps, see Appendix A.

community of St. Boniface and is thereby separated from the Inner City by culture as well as by the river. The area south of the Assiniboine River is much more like the rest of the old ward of River Osborne than the area across the river. These two isolated sections were not included in the new Inner City wards, because there is not sufficient justification to ignore major natural boundaries or the existing ward boundaries.

The old wards of Mynarski and Point Douglas are isolated from the downtown core of the Inner City by the CPR lines. When combined, these two wards form a new ward with a 1986 Census Population of 39,652, very close to the median value required by legislation. Ninety three percent of the population of this new ward live in NAs within the defined boundaries of the Inner City. This ward is labelled WARD 1 on Map 2.

Because the remaining portion of the Inner City does not contain sufficient population to form two wards, areas west of the Inner City have to be included in the new wards to satisfy the population requirements. The old wards of Westminster and Daniel McIntyre combined with the southern portion of Notre Dame form WARD 2, the second Inner City ward, with a population of 38,610. Redboine joined to the northern portion of Notre Dame form WARD 3, the third Inner City ward, with a population of 40,129. Splitting up the old ward of Notre Dame was unavoidable. Any other configuration would not provide the Inner City residents with a two-thirds majority.

These three wards, with Inner City residents holding at least a two-thirds majority, ensure that Inner City residents are equitably represented on City Council. The boundaries for these wards can be seen on Map 2. These three wards would be the logical wards to form an Inner City Community Committee.

5.3 NORTHWEST PERIMETER WARDS

Once the Inner City ward boundaries are determined, the next logical combination of old wards is Kildonan Park and Jefferson, creating WARD 4. The resultant 1986 Census population is 41,399, about midway between the median and the upper limit of 43,600.

Joining Sisler and Deer Lodge would produce a WARD 5 with a population of 43,506, very close to the upper limit allowed. The old boundary between Deer Lodge and Grant's Mill-Stevenson split the NA of Birchwood in half. Since NAs cannot be divided, the population of Birchwood (West) is included in WARD 5. The population of WARD 5 would then be 44,549, which is 949 over the limit. Unfortunately, if St Charles and Grant's Mill-Stevenson are then joined to create WARD 6, the population of 43,893 would be 293 in excess of the upper limit.

To create two wards of the correct size, the proposed boundary between WARD 5 and WARD 6 would have to shift westward to remove some NAs from Grant's Mill-Stevenson, thereby adding more population to WARD 5. The only NA in WARD 6 that can accommodate the necessary boundary shift is Woodhaven, with a population of 911. The NA of Booth has a population of 6,125 and would be too large to remove from WARD 6. Shifting the NA of Woodhaven out of WARD 6 would leave it with a population of 42,982.

Accommodating an increased population in an already too large WARD 5, would mean that its other boundaries have to be shifted. The population of Woodhaven added to the excess from WARD 5 totals 1,860. Therefore, a NA or combination of NAs with a population greater then 1,860 must be taken from WARD 5 and added to either WARD 1, 2 or 4.

Only Bruce Park or Shaughnessy Park have the requisite number of residents. Bruce Park (2,212 residents) is physically isolated from the rest of WARD 2 and is not a logical choice. Shaughnessy Park (2,447 residents) is very similar to the eastern NAs in WARD 1. When Shaughnessy Park is included in WARD 1, the NA of Mynarski (1,349 residents) is isolated from WARD 5 by the presence of Inkster Industrial Park. Joining the NA of Mynarski to WARD 1 prevents this isolation and is logical because the NA of Mynarski has similar socio-economic characteristics to the rest of WARD 1.

This shift of two NAs into WARD 1 increases its population to 43,448, just within the limit. This shift also reduces the percentage of Inner City residents in WARD 1 to 84 percent. WARD 5 now has a population of 41,664, well within the limit. The boundaries for wards 1 through 6 are shown on Map 3. The NW quadrant is thus divided into six wards and two Community Committees, one for the Inner City and one for the more suburban areas.

5.4 SOUTHWEST WARDS

The old wards of Charleswood and Assiniboine Park fit together naturally to form WARD 7, with a population of 41,171. However, the eastern boundary of Assiniboine Park splits the NA of Sir John Franklin. Two thirds of the NA are in the old ward of River Heights. If only whole NAs are included and Sir John Franklin is excluded, the population in WARD 7 is 40,327.

The joining of the old wards of River Heights and River Osborne forms WARD 8, population 38,574. But since the western part of Sir John Franklin must be added to this ward, the population increases to 39,418. The similarities between the NA J.B. Mitchell and the NAs in WARD 8 logically lead to including the NA of J.B. Mitchell in WARD 8, because it has more socio-economic characteristics in common with WARD 8 than with WARD 7, with a resultant population increase in WARD 8 to 41,739. This shift decreases the population of WARD 7 down to 38,006.

The combination of Waverley and Pembina-Riverview forms WARD 9, with a population of 40,047. The boundary between Waverley and University split the NA of Montcalm, more than three quarters of which was in Waverley. Including the whole NA of Montcalm in WARD 9 increases its population to 40,875. Map 4 shows wards 7, 8, and 9 and the other completed wards.

5.5 ST. BONIFACE AND ST. VITAL

The next logical step would seem to be joining the old wards of University and Seine Valley, but this might cause problems when making up the wards in the St. Boniface region. The importance of maintaining the Francophone community was clearly expressed at the Winnipeg Wards Review Committee hearings. Therefore, the boundaries for WARDS 11 and 12 must be set before determining WARD 10.

The procedure of joining two existing wards together to form one new ward does not work in this region. When the old ward boundaries were set, the NA of Windsor Park was split up, with three quarters of the population living in Langevin. When Windsor Park is used as a whole NA, no combination of the four existing wards yields a satisfactory ward configuration, because one ward is always too small.

The configuration that comes closest to satisfying the population requirements does not satisfy the community of interests requirement. Joining Tache and Langevin together, while borrowing NAs from Seine Valley to fill up a Glenlawn/Riel House combination, would satisfy the population criterion. The community of interests criterion would suffer badly with such a configuration. The older areas of St. Boniface do not have many interests in common with the newer suburban districts in Langevin. It was therefore necessary to start with the St. Boniface NAs, and to keep adding similar NAs until the population limits were satisfied.

When the NAs of Windsor Park and Glenwood are added to this WARD 11, the population totals 37,175. The southern edge of these two NAs is an excellent boundary (Map 5). Not only does this boundary run along a major thoroughfare, but it also marks a shift from the older central areas of the City to a newer more suburban areas.

Combining the remaining NAs from Langevin and Glenlawn with the NAs from Riel House forms WARD 12, population 38,521. This ward includes the area of Minnetonka (South), which had been split off as part of Seine Valley.

The two remaining original wards of University and Seine Valley are joined together to form WARD 10, with a population of 40,632. Since the southern part of Montcalm has been included in WARD 9 and the southern part of Minnetonka has been included in WARD 12, the final population of WARD 10 is decreased to 39,148.

5.6 NORTHEAST WARDS

The final three wards formed are in the North East quadrant of the City. The rail yards to the south and the Red River effectively separate this area from the rest of the City. The location of the residential areas also effectively limits the choices for ward boundaries in this area of the City. The population limits dictate that three wards be formed in this area. Starting with the old ward of Transcona and adding the eastern halves of Springfield Heights and Miles Macdonell to form WARD 15, was the only way satisfactory borders could be fashioned. The only choice is that of where to locate the NA of Springfield South. This study includes it in WARD 15 along with the other NAs from the eastern part of Miles MacDonell, giving WARD 15 a population of 38,642.

WARD 13 is formed by combining Henderson with the western half of Miles MacDonell and includes the southern part of the NA of Kildonan Drive, a part of Elmwood, giving a population for WARD 13 of 36,062. The remaining NAs from Elmwood and Springfield Heights form WARD 14 with a population of 36,156. Map 6 shows the ward boundaries for the 15 wards, comprised solely of whole NAs.

6.0 COMPLETED ALTERNATIVES

6.1 AN ALTERNATIVE

The Legislation passed by the provincial parliament required that 15 new wards be created to replace the 29 existing wards. The ward boundaries alternative set out in this report contains eight new wards which are formed by joining two original wards. Two of the remaining seven wards contain a combination of one original ward and part of a second. The final five wards combine one original ward with parts of two others.

The breaking up of the old wards is justified on several grounds. In the case of WARD 2 and WARD 3, breaking up the community of interests represented by the old wards was justified by the need for constructing two new wards which had a two-thirds majority of Inner City residents. A similar case is made for the formation of WARD 11 and WARD 12, except that the community of interests represented was the Francophone community. The boundaries for WARD 15 were determined solely by population limits specified in the legislation. Finally, breaking up some wards would have been necessary in any case, as 29 can not be evenly divided by 15.

In the additional guidelines that the Province of Manitoba established for the Ross committee is a request that "as far as is practicable, wards shall be contiguous, and unnecessary irregularities should be avoided" (p. 2). The ward boundaries shown on Map 6 are very irregular in many places. In order to smooth out these irregularities, boundaries could be placed that split up industrial NAs. These NAs contain almost no population, would not greatly affect the ward population totals, and no community of

interests would be harmed by spitting them up. A number of the original 29 ward boundaries were placed in just such a way.

The final ward boundaries, including ward population totals, as proposed in this study are shown on Map 7. Appendix B contains the lists of NAs that make up the new wards with the 1986 Census population figures and the 1992 population estimates from the City of Winnipeg for the Neighbourhood Areas.

6.2 ROSS REPORT 15 WARD SCENARIO

The Ross report included a 15 ward sample proposal prepared by the City of Winnipeg Planning Department. This proposal "examined the *possible* structure of a 15 ward model" (p. 20). Any final ward boundary proposal that came close to matching the sample depicted in the Ross report would have to address three major problems.

The Ross report example has only two wards (9 and 10), which have a majority of Inner City residents. Having only two wards would reduce the Inner City's representation on Council from 20 percent down to 13 percent. Such a reduction of representation is unsupportable. It is important to recognise that a strong voice for the Inner City can not be heard as well from the street as it can be from the Council chamber.

The Ross report also shows half of the Downtown core being combined into a ward which includes parts of River Osborne, Pembina-Riverview, and River Heights. There is no justification for crossing this major river boundary. These areas do not form a strong community of interests. The socio-economic characteristics such as language, education, and unemployment are all significantly different when you compare the downtown NAs with NAs from the old ward of Pembina-Riverview.

The proposal presented in the Ross report has a Ward 11 that was created by joining the wards of Kildonan Park and Mynarski. These two wards have consistently different characteristics and are often on opposite sides of the City average. A comparison of low-income households showed that Kildonan Park has a percentage of low-income households below that of the City average while Mynarski's is above the City average (Mathur, 1991). The ward of Kildonan Park is expected to increase its population by nineteen percent between 1986 and 1991, while the ward of Mynarski is expected to have a decrease of six percent during the same period, according to the City of Winnipeg Population Estimates. Eighty-six percent of the residents of Mynarski live in NAs within the defined boundaries of the Inner City and this community should be joined with other Inner City communities.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS

The ward boundary proposal contained in the Ross report is an example of ward boundaries prepared without a clearly defined purpose, with only population limits in mind. One should not be overly critical of what is obviously only a single example of what a 15 ward City might look like. As a sample proposal, it admirably serves the purpose of showing what is *not* desirable in a ward boundary proposal.

Respecting natural and existing boundaries, and choosing the Inner City as a starting point are both value-laden choices. That these are logically chosen restrictions does not mean that anyone else would choose to be bound by them. The outcome of a selection process that did not respect natural boundaries, and chose to start by defining the suburban wards would likely split the Inner City and reduce its representation on City Council; such choices would not be in keeping with the concern expressed by the citizens of greater Winnipeg.

The legislation changing the *City of Winnipeg Act* required that the number of wards be "amended by striking out '29' and substituting '15'" (p. 1). This requirement in the *Act* for 15 wards is probably the most restrictive condition affecting the final outcome of any ward boundary proposal. After determining the boundaries of the first few of these large wards, little choice is left that is not restricted by the requirement for contiguousness and a population within specified limits. Only in the choice of those first wards can the need for a ward that is a community of interests be truly realised. It is therefore extremely important to have a clearly reasoned starting point. The premise of this report is that the Inner City provides a community of interests that is the most appropriate starting point for the ward boundary selection process in Winnipeg.

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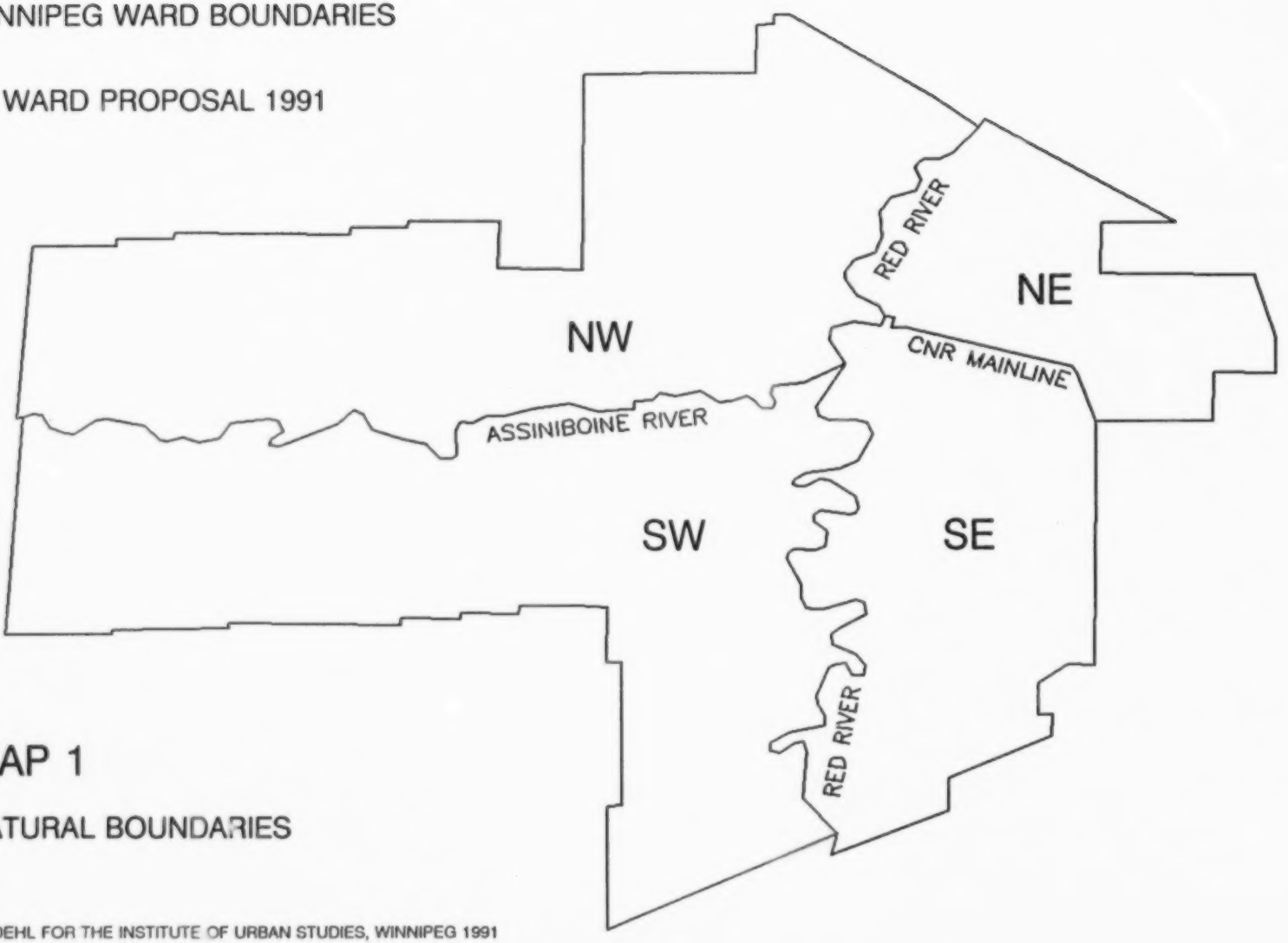
APPENDIX A:

MAPS

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



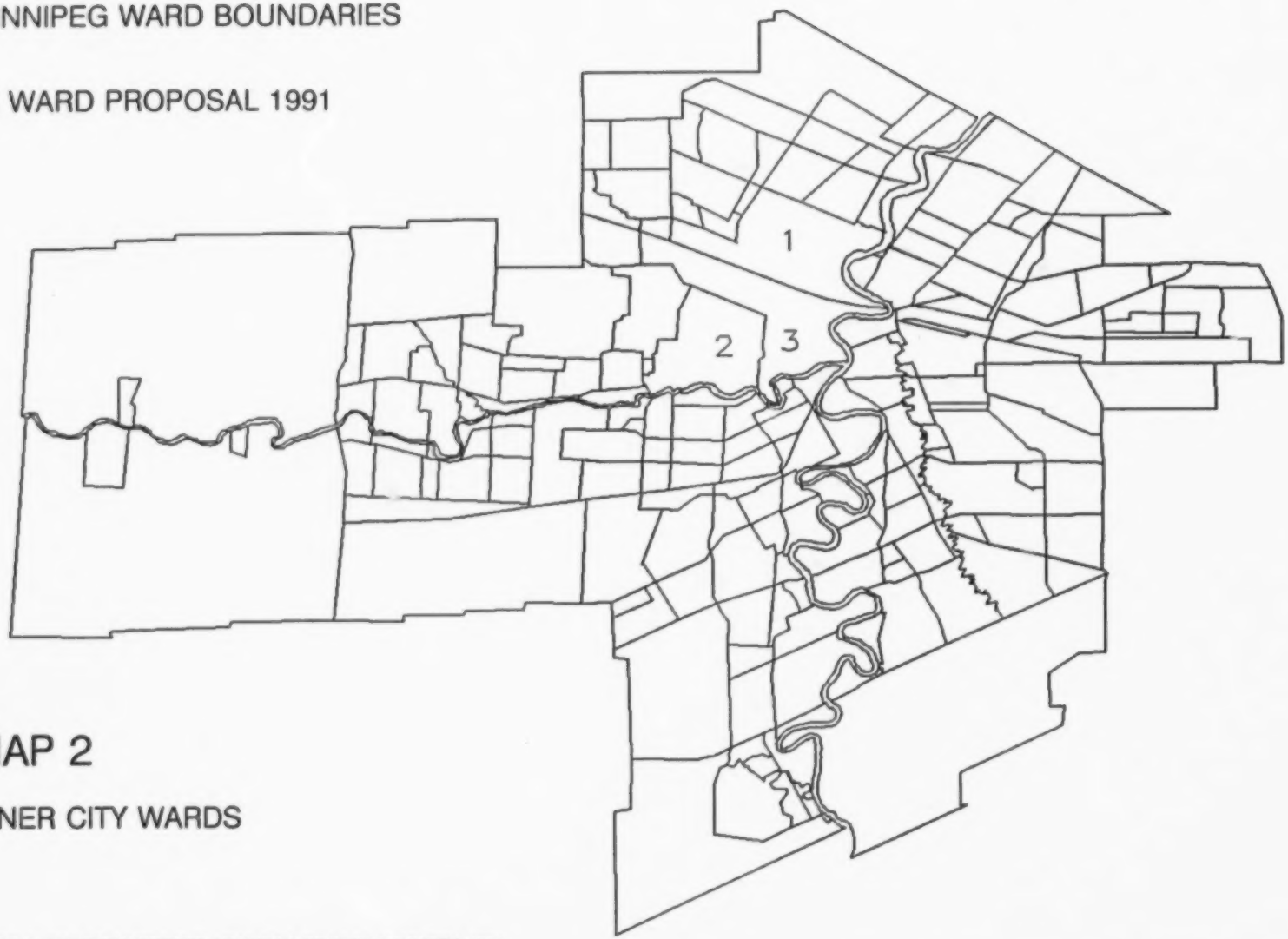
MAP 1

NATURAL BOUNDARIES

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



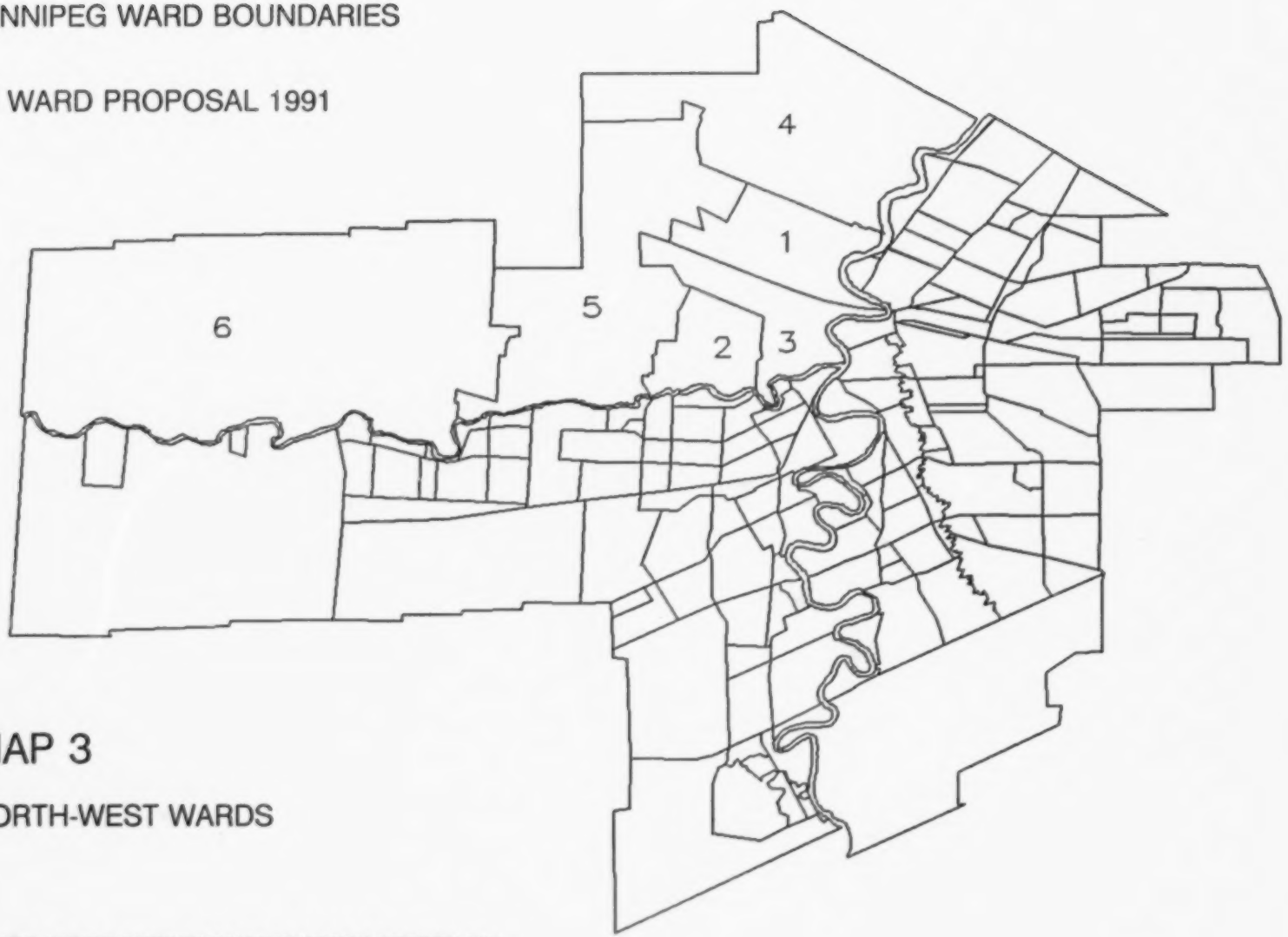
MAP 2

INNER CITY WARDS

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



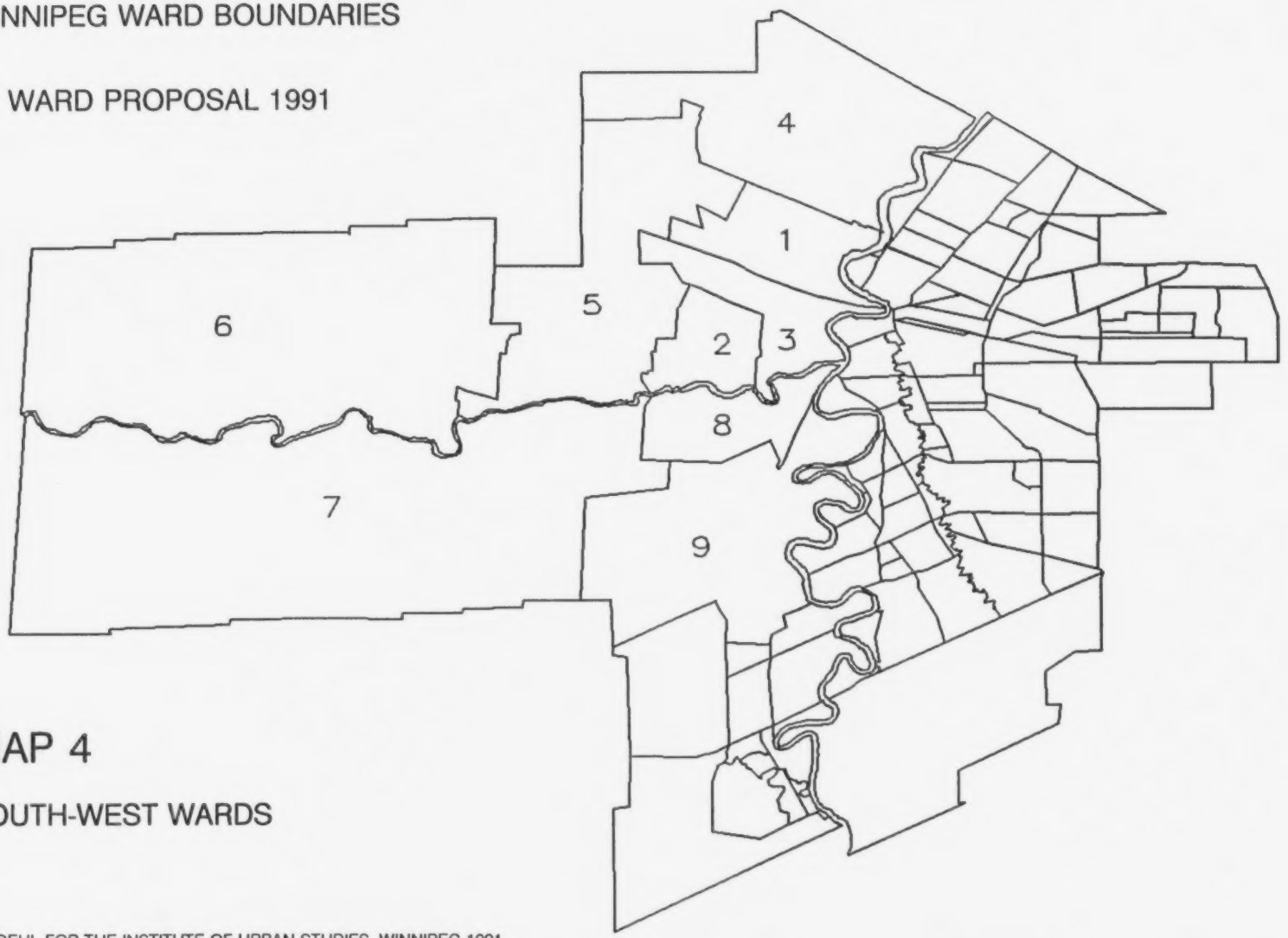
MAP 3

NORTH-WEST WARDS

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



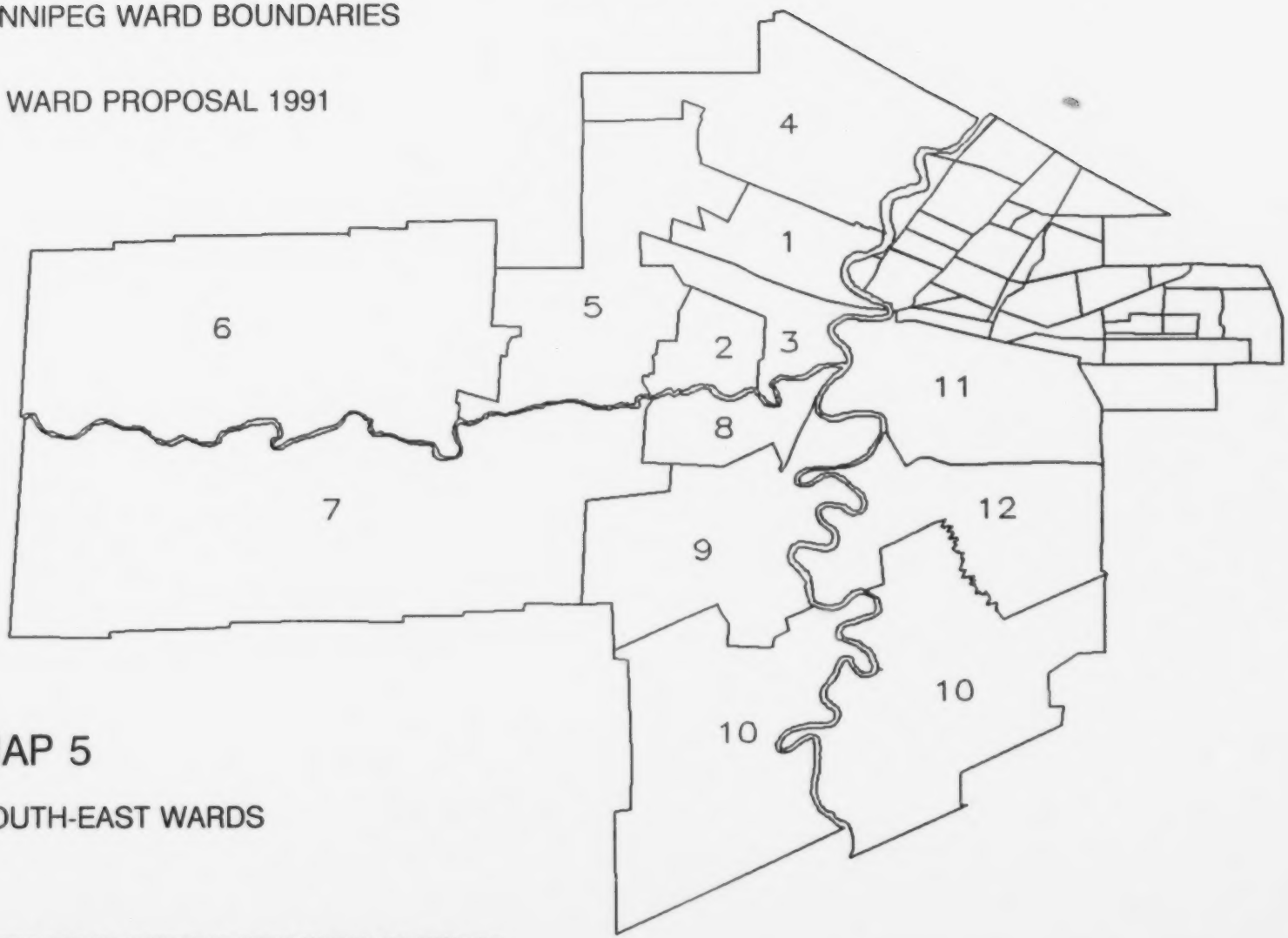
MAP 4

SOUTH-WEST WARDS

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



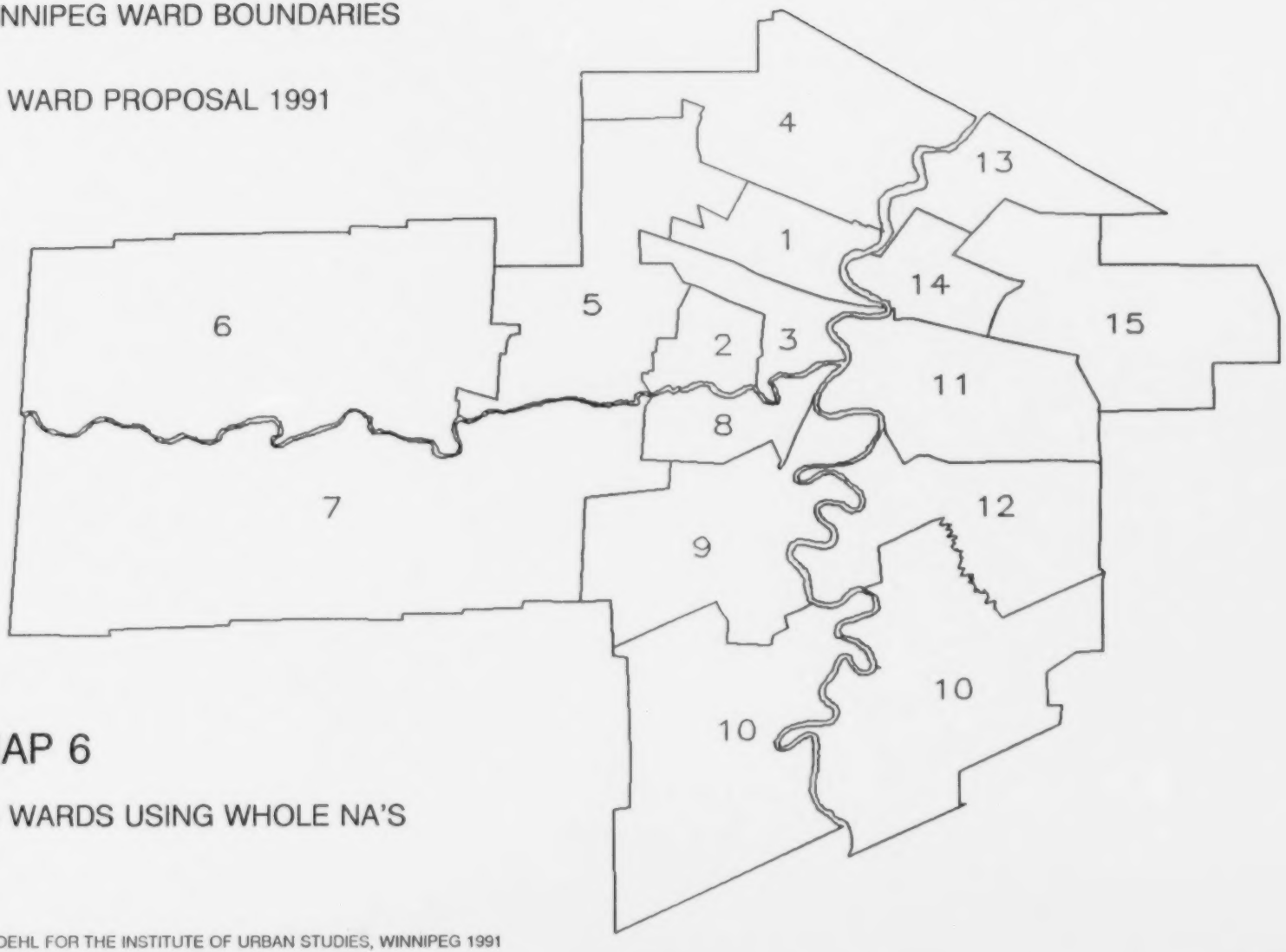
MAP 5

SOUTH-EAST WARDS

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



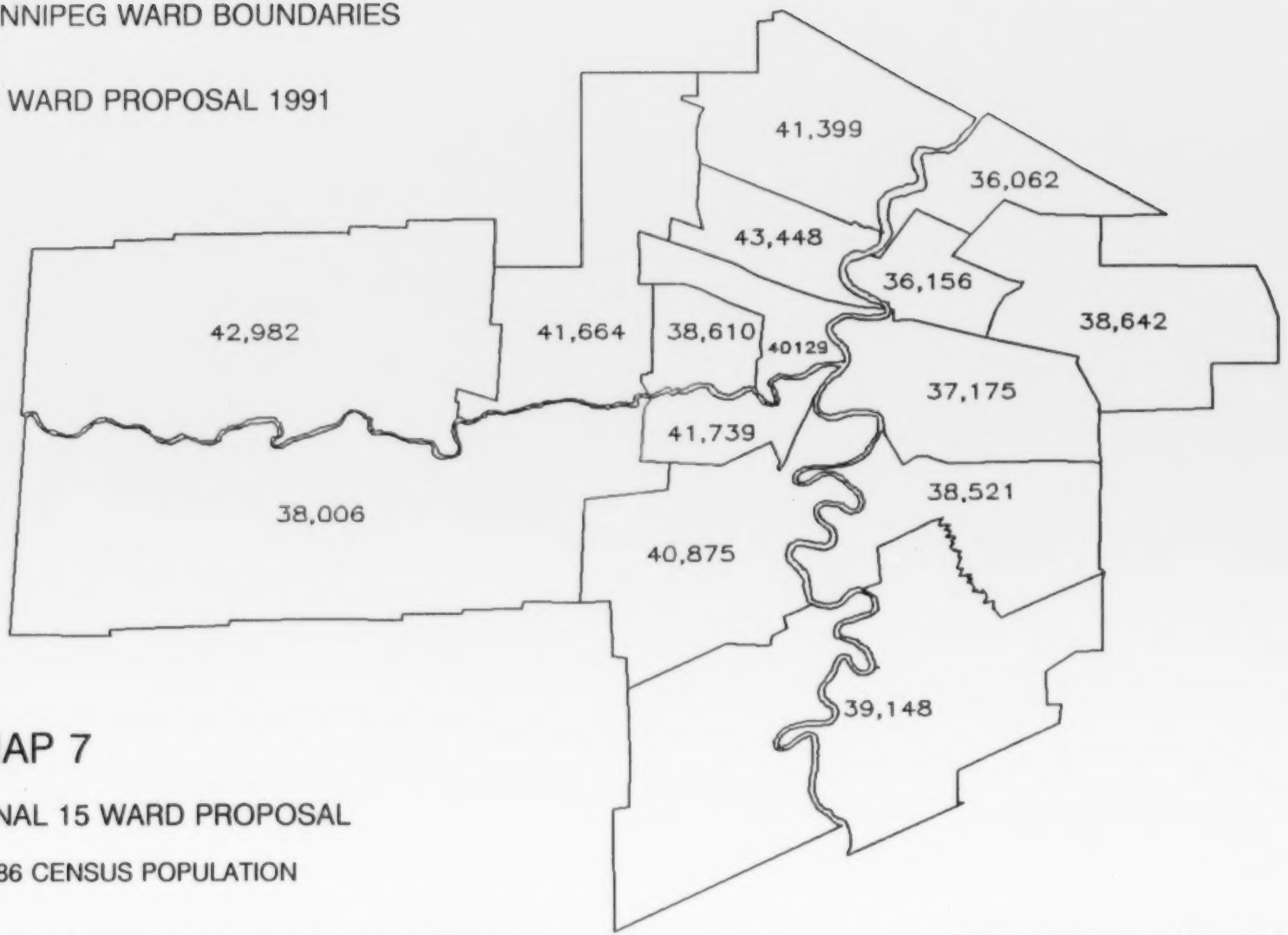
MAP 6

15 WARDS USING WHOLE NA'S

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

15 WARD PROPOSAL 1991



MAP 7

FINAL 15 WARD PROPOSAL

1986 CENSUS POPULATION

H.KOEHL FOR THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES, WINNIPEG 1991

SOURCE : STATISTICS CANADA 1986 CENSUS

APPENDIX B:

WARD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD AREA LISTS

FINAL 15 WARD BOUNDARY PROPOSAL

WARD LIST WITH POPULATIONS

WARDS	1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
INNER CITY WARDS		
WARD-1	43448	40378
WARD-2	38610	35210
WARD-3	40129	38987
TOTAL	122187	114575
NORTH-WEST WARDS		
WARD-4	41399	46748
WARD-5	41664	43573
WARD-6	42982	42259
TOTAL	126045	132580
SOUTH-WEST WARDS		
WARD-7	38006	41768
WARD-8	41739	40023
WARD-9	40875	43776
TOTAL	120620	125567
SOUTH-EAST WARDS		
WARD-10	39148	47701
WARD-11	37175	37538
WARD-12	38521	41341
TOTAL	114844	126580
NORTH-EAST WARDS		
WARD-13	36062	37503
WARD-14	36156	34547
WARD-15	38642	42576
TOTAL	110860	114626
CITY TOTALS	594556	613928

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

INNER CITY WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE	INNER CITY
3.1	DUFFERIN	2370	1944	2370
3.2	WILLIAM WHYTE	6899	6258	6899
3.3	BURROWS CENTRAL	4895	4335	4895
3.4	LORD SELKIRK PARK	1372	1500	1372
3.11	NORTH POINT DOUGLAS	3283	3005	3283
3.28	DUFFERIN INDUSTRIAL	179	124	179
3.30	LORD SELKIRK INDUSTRIAL	49	106	49
3.5	LUXTON	2919	2642	
3.6	ST. JOHN'S	8739	7899	8739
3.8	INKSTER FARADAY	4099	3850	4099
3.15	SHAUGHNESSY PARK	2447	2344	
3.10	MYNARSKI	1349	1359	
3.12	ROBERTSON	4205	4201	4205
3.34	WESTON SHOPS	22	165	
3.13	ST JOHN'S PARK	621	646	621
WARD-1 TOTAL		**43448**	**40378**	**36711**
INNER-CITY POPULATION				**84.49%**
1.22	POLO PARK	309	251	
2.6	PADDOCK	179	173	
1.8	DANIEL MCINTYRE	10960	9685	10960
1.12	ST. MATTHEWS	6922	6186	6922
1.13	WESTMINSTER	8792	8144	8792
1.15	MINTO	5580	5284	
1.18	SARGENT PARK	5868	5487	
WARD-2 TOTAL		**38610**	**35210**	**26674**
INNER-CITY POPULATION				**69.09%**

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

INNER CITY WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE	INNER CITY
1.3	MEMORIAL	6545	5081	6545
1.1	LOGAN C.P.R.	371	206	371
1.2	CENTENNIAL	2982	2672	2982
1.4	SPENCE	5113	4471	5113
1.5	WEST ALEXANDER	4592	4093	4592
1.19	ARMSTRONG POINT	394	370	394
1.23	SOUTH POINT DOUGLAS	501	166	501
1.14	WESTON	5987	5572	
1.21	PACIFIC INDUSTRIAL	13	0	
1.24	BROOKLANDS	2573	2413	
1.84	EAST YARDS	0	0	0
1.85	MAIN STREET SOUTH	0	0	0
1.86	SOUTH PORTAGE	240	307	240
1.87	YORK	1810	2283	1810
1.88	BROADWAY	285	360	285
1.89	ASSINIBOINE	3560	4488	3560
1.90	LEGISLATURE	0	0	0
1.81	EXCHANGE DISTRICT	110	140	110
1.82	MAIN STREET NORTH	0	0	0
1.83	CHINATOWN	635	795	635
1.91	NORTH PORTAGE EAST	0	0	0
1.92	NORTH PORTAGE	455	573	455
1.93	UNIVERSITY	328	414	328
1.94	CENTRAL PARK	3635	4583	3635
WARD-3 TOTAL		40129	38987	31556
INNER-CITY POPULATION				78.64%
INNER CITY WARDS TOTAL		122187	114575	

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

NORTH-WEST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
3.35	ROSSER OLD KILDONAN	236	236
3.33	WEST KILDONAN INDUSTRIAL	5	0
3.26	LEILA NORTH	184	365
3.20	LEILA MCPHILLIPS TRIANGLE	1100	2075
3.24	TEMPLETON SINCLAIR	3878	4942
3.17	THE MAPLES	14032	13087
3.9	JEFFERSON	8755	8737
3.14	SEVEN OAKS	3106	3010
3.16	GARDEN CITY	6464	6569
3.18	MARGRET PARK	2614	2571
3.22	RIVERGROVE	237	2606
3.23	RIVERBEND	780	2550
3.36	KILDONAN PARK	8	0
WARD-4 TOTAL		**41399**	**46748**
3.7	BURROWS KEWATIN	3133	3084
3.19	INKSTER GARDENS	1687	3780
3.21	MANDALAY WEST	3262	3738
2.21	ST. JAMES INDUSTRIAL	20	0
2.25	OMAND'S CREEK INDUSTRIAL	3	0
3.25	TYNDALL PARK	9882	10672
3.27	NORTH INKSTER INDUSTRIAL	10	0
3.29	INKSTER INDUSTRIAL PARK	184	81
3.31	OAK POINT HIGHWAY	34	0
3.32	VOPNI	0	0
2.1	KENSINGTON	291	289
2.15	SILVER HEIGHTS	5532	5458

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

NORTH-WEST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
2.13	JAMESWOOD	1720	1346
2.3	KING EDWARD	5929	5640
2.4	BRUCE PARK	2212	2025
2.19	AIRPORT	540	454
2.17	WOODHAVEN	911	906
2.5	DEER LODGE	4266	4043
2.7	BIRCHWOOD	2048	2057
WARD-5 TOTAL		41664	43573
2.8	BOOTH	6125	6103
2.9	BUCHANAN	3650	3497
2.10	CRESTVIEW	10546	10269
2.11	GLENDALE	1161	1120
2.12	HERITAGE PARK	5318	5410
2.14	STURGEN CREEK	3715	3665
2.16	KIRKFIELD	3121	3258
2.18	NORTH HEADINGLEY	254	243
2.20	MURRY INDUSTRIAL PARK	8	0
2.22	SASKATCHEWAN NORTH	2	0
2.23	NORTH PERIMETER WEST	567	316
2.24	WESTWOOD	8515	8378
WARD-6 TOTAL		42982	42259
NORTH-WEST WARDS TOTAL		126045	132580

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

SOUTH-WEST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
6.8	VARSITY VIEW	2409	2647
6.13	EDGELAND	1496	1419
6.14	ERIC COY	2524	2771
6.17	MARLTON	695	696
6.19	TUXEDO	3252	3059
6.21	OLD TUXEDO	960	1067
6.22	RIDGEDALE	680	678
6.23	RIVERWEST PARK	1716	1705
6.24	ROBLYN PARK	1075	1051
6.18	MATHERS	2773	2763
6.27	SOUTHBOINE	1360	1304
6.30	VIALOUX	1023	1024
6.32	WESTDALE	5427	5192
6.33	BETSWORTH	4718	5687
6.36	ELMHURST	4159	4629
6.39	GRANGE	73	67
6.44	SOUTH HEADINGLY	491	455
6.45	SOUTH TUXEDO	2375	3149
6.49	RIDGEWOOD SOUTH	123	1709
6.58	WILKES SOUTH	319	282
6.59	SOUTH PERIMETER WEST	312	291
6.60	ASSINIBOINE PARK	46	123
WARD-7 TOTAL		38006	41768

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

SOUTH-WEST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
1.6	EARL GRAY	4919	4647
1.7	EBBY WENTWORTH	814	731
1.10	MCMILLAN	3878	3933
1.11	RIVER OSBORNE	4716	4545
1.17	ROSLYN	4333	3665
6.26	SIR JOHN FRANKLIN	2560	2456
6.16	J.B.MITCHELL	2321	2334
6.20	NORTH RIVER HEIGHTS	6051	5678
6.11	CENTRAL RIVER HEIGHTS	3710	3265
6.7	ROCKWOOD	3884	4182
6.1	CRESCENTWOOD	2807	2910
6.31	WELLINGTON CRESCENT	1746	1577
WARD-8 TOTAL		41739	40023
6.2	BEAMONT	2545	2424
6.4	GRANT PARK	3077	2960
6.5	MAYBANK	2603	2694
6.6	POINT ROAD	1932	1863
6.46	WAVERLY HEIGHTS	5796	5401
6.9	WILDWOOD	1152	1107
6.12	CRESCENT PARK	2305	2284
6.65	LORD ROBERTS	5600	5273
6.66	RIVERVIEW	4567	4499
6.40	MONTCALM	3532	3853
6.28	SOUTH RIVER HEIGHTS	2895	2761
6.34	LINDEN WOODS	1607	4179
6.43	PEMBINA STRIP	2337	2409

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD SOUTH-WEST WARDS			
NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
6.47	WHYTE RIDGE	120	1363
6.52	BUFFALO	0	0
6.53	CHEVRIER	186	67
6.54	PARKER	76	68
6.10	AGASSIZ	507	537
6.61	WEST FORT GARRY INDUSTRIAL	17	27
6.62	WILKES INDUSTRIAL	13	0
6.55	TUXEDO INDUSTRIAL	8	7
6.64	LINDEN RIDGE	0	0
WARD-9 TOTAL		40875	43776
SOUTH-WEST WARDS TOTAL		120620	125567

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

SOUTH-EAST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
5.27	NORMAND PARK	120	690
5.29	RIVER PARK SOUTH	8107	8579
5.30	DAKOTA CROSSING	1147	8708
5.43	ST.VITAL PERIMETER SOUTH	1164	1202
5.44	MAPLE GROVE PARK	0	0
5.35	ST.VITAL CENTRE	5	0
6.15	FORT RICHMOND	12280	12033
6.25	ST. NORBERT	1376	1719
5.24	VISTA	1630	1333
5.26	MEADOWOOD	4985	3359
5.28	RICHFIELD	730	373
6.29	TURNBULL DRIVE	50	27
6.35	CLOUTIER DRIVE	221	274
6.37	FAIRFIELD PARK	105	414
6.38	RICHMOND WEST	2993	4396
6.41	RICHMOND LAKES	1578	1767
6.42	PARC LASALLE	1987	2332
6.48	PERRAULT	66	0
6.50	TRAPPISTES	215	232
6.51	WAVERLY WEST	58	69
6.56	UNIVERSITY	233	50
6.57	LA BARRIERE	98	144
WARD-10 TOTAL		39148	47701

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

SOUTH-EAST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
5.1	NORTH ST. BONIFACE	1856	2375
5.2	CENTRAL ST. BONIFACE	7075	7600
5.3	TISSOT	227	255
5.5	ARCHWOOD	945	926
5.6	DUFRESNE	463	441
5.8	GLENWOOD	4240	4148
5.9	HOLDEN	231	206
5.11	MAGINOT	1992	1831
5.13	NORWOOD EAST	4689	4615
5.14	NORWOOD WEST	3232	3095
5.20	NIAKWA PARK	734	760
5.25	WINDSOR PARK	11289	11100
5.34	DUGALD	14	22
5.36	MISSION	22	20
5.37	ST.BONIFACE INDUSTRIAL PARK	7	0
5.38	ST.BONIFACE REFINERY	150	141
5.39	STOCK YARDS	9	0
5.40	SYMINGTON YARDS	0	3
5.45	WINDSOR PARK GOLF COURSE	0	0
WARD-11 TOTAL		**37175**	**37538**
5.4	ALPINE PLACE	3809	3845
5.10	LAVALLEE	1190	1155
5.12	NORBERRY	1365	1342
5.15	ST. GEORGE	3210	3075
5.17	WORTHINGTON	5550	5452
5.19	MINNETONKA	4790	4747

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

SOUTH-EAST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
5.21	PULBERRY	4904	4915
5.22	SOUTH DALE	8994	8974
5.23	VICTORIA CRESCENT	626	630
5.7	ELM PARK	1737	1621
5.18	KINGSTON CRESCENT	673	621
5.16	VARENNES	1050	1000
5.31	SOUTH ST.BONIFACE-A	41	93
5.33	WOODBRIDGE ESTATES	62	1194
5.41	THE MINT	0	0
5.42	DAWSON	13	3
5.46	ISLAND LAKES	499	2649
5.47	SILVER ACRES	0	0
5.48	SOUTH ST. BONIFACE-B	8	25
WARD-12 TOTAL		38521	41341
SOUTH-EAST WARDS TOTAL		114844	126580

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD AREAS

NORTH-EAST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
4.11	KILDONAN DRIVE	5188	5040
4.13	ROSSMERE A	14440	14370
4.18	RIVER EAST	9552	9633
4.19	SPRINGFIELD NORTH	3658	5263
4.21	VALHALLA	2956	2874
4.27	KIL-CONA PARK	268	323
WARD-13 TOTAL		**36062**	**37503**
4.1	CHALMERS	10098	9389
4.3	TALBOT GREY	2654	2500
4.5	EAST ELMWOOD	3377	3130
4.7	MUNROE WEST	3284	3143
4.9	WEST ELMWOOD	2550	2324
4.12	MUNROE EAST	9700	9374
4.29	MUNROE EAST ANNEX	28	194
4.32	TYNE TEES	5	0
4.34	ROSSMERE B	4460	4493
WARD-14 TOTAL		**36156**	**34547**
4.2	MELROSE	1506	1417
4.4	VICTORIA WEST	2771	2663
4.6	KERN PARK	1924	1824
4.8	RADDISON	4074	4067
4.1	KILDARE REDONDA	8107	7850
4.14	CANTERBURY PARK	2950	3638

CITY OF WINNIPEG POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOOD AREAS

NORTH-EAST WARDS

NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
4.15	MEADOWS	3019	5156
4.16	MISSION GARDENS	2772	2779
4.17	PEGUIS	240	229
4.2	SPRINGFIELD SOUTH	1489	1388
4.22	VALLEY GARDENS	8600	8731
4.23	VALLEY GARDENS ANNEX	269	78
4.24	GRASSIE	242	2075
4.25	TRANSCONA SOUTH	595	566
4.26	GRIFFIN	12	0
4.28	MCLEOD INDUSTRIAL	3	0
4.30	NORTH TRANSCONA YARDS	0	0
4.31	TRANSCONA YARDS	0	35
4.33	REGENT	69	80
4.35	TRANSCONA NORTH	0	0
WARD-15 TOTAL		38642	42576
NORTH-EAST WARDS TOTAL		110860	114626

INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD AREA LIST

INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD AREAS : WINNIPEG			
NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
1.1	LOGAN C.P.R.	371	206
1.2	CENTENNIAL	2982	2672
1.3	MEMORIAL	6545	5081
1.4	SPENCE	5113	4471
1.5	WEST ALEXANDER	4592	4093
1.8	DANIEL MCINTYRE	10960	9685
1.10	MCMILLAN	3878	3933
1.11	RIVER OSBORNE	4716	4645
1.12	ST. MATTHEWS	6922	6186
1.13	WESTMINSTER	8792	8144
1.17	ROSLYN	4333	3665
1.19	ARMSTRONG POINT	394	370
1.23	SOUTH POINT DOUGLAS	501	166
1.81	EXCHANGE DISTRICT	110	140
1.82	MAIN STREET NORTH	0	0
1.83	CHINATOWN	635	795
1.84	EAST YARDS	0	0
1.85	MAIN STREET SOUTH	0	0
1.86	SOUTH PORTAGE	240	307
1.87	YORK	1810	2283
1.88	BROADWAY	285	360
1.89	ASSINIBOINE	3560	4488
1.90	LEGISLATURE	0	0
1.91	NORTH PORTAGE EAST	0	0
1.92	NORTH PORTAGE	455	573
1.93	UNIVERSITY	328	414
1.94	CENTRAL PARK	3635	4583
3.1	DUFFERIN	2370	1944

INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD AREAS : WINNIPEG			
NEIGHBOURHOOD NAME AND NUMBER		1986 CENSUS	1991 ESTIMATE
3.2	WILLIAM WHYTE	6899	6258
3.3	BURROWS CENTRAL	4895	4335
3.4	LORD SELKIRK	1372	1500
3.6	ST. JOHN'S	8739	7899
3.8	INKSTER FARADAY	4099	3850
3.11	NORTH POINT DOUGLAS	3283	3005
3.12	ROBERTSON	4205	4201
3.13	ST JOHN'S PARK	621	646
3.28	DUFFERIN INDUSTRIAL	179	124
3.30	LORD SELKIRK INDUSTRIAL	49	106
3.34	WESTON SHOPS	22	165
5.1	NORTH ST. BONIFACE	1856	2375
5.2	CENTRAL ST. BONIFACE	7075	7600
5.3	TISSOT	227	255
INNER CITY POPULATION TOTALS		117048	111523

INNER CITY VOTING PATTERNS 1989

WINNIPEG 1989 MUNICIPAL ELECTION

VOTING PATTERNS OF INNER CITY VS NON INNER CITY RESIDENTS

WARD	INNER CITY	CENSUS	VOTE 1989	% VOTE
RIVER OSBORNE	I	19472	5911	30.36
WESTMINSTER	I	18532	3332	17.98
NOTRE DAME		22386	3930	17.56
DANIEL MCINTYRE	I	18537	3065	16.53
REDBOINE	I	19284	2973	15.42
DEER LODGE		21518	4956	23.03
GRANT'S MILLS STEVENSON		22411	5846	26.09
ST. CHARLES		22525	3985	17.69
POINT DOUGLAS	I	19069	3703	19.42
SISLER		21988	4274	19.44
JEFFERSON		19435	4191	21.56
KILDONAN PARK		21964	6776	30.85
MYNARSKI	I	20583	4548	22.10
HENDERSON		22200	5899	26.57
MILES MACDONELL		22374	5526	24.70
ELMWOOD		22483	4890	21.75
SPRINGFIELD HEIGHTS		21864	4226	19.33
TRANSCONA		21939	6030	27.49
TACHE		18920	6196	32.75
LANGEVIN		18676	5960	31.91
SEINE VALLEY		18544	4801	25.89
RIEL HOUSE		18609	0	0.00
GLENLAWN		18835	5583	29.64
CHARLESWOOD		19513	5211	26.71
ASSINIBOINE PARK		21658	0	0.00
RIVER HEIGHTS		19102	6293	32.94

WINNIPEG 1989 MUNICIPAL ELECTION VOTING PATTERNS OF INNER CITY VS NON INNER CITY RESIDENTS				
WARD	INNER CITY	CENSUS	VOTE 1989	% VOTE
PEMBINA RIVERVIEW		21104	6019	28.52
WAVERLY		18943	5739	30.30
UNIVERSITY		22088	4513	20.43
AVERAGE % VOTE INNER CITY				20.30
AVERAGE % VOTE NON INNER CITY (NIC ACCLAMATIONS)				25.48

Source: City of Winnipeg